

*Supplementary Facts in the History of the Discovery of Australia.**By* RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, *Esq., F.S.A.*

Read 9th January, 1873.

On the 14th of March last I had the honour of laying before this Society some new facts which had fallen under my notice in connection with the early discoveries of the great continental Island of Australia. One of these new facts was the very promising circumstance that there had been found in the Royal Burgundian Library in Brussels, by M. Ruelens, one of the Conservators of the Library, who had obligingly communicated to me the fact, the original autograph report to King Philip III. of a discovery of Australia in 1601 by a Portuguese named Manoel Godinho de Eredia, which discovery I had been the first to make known to the world in a paper read before this Society on the 7th of March, 1861. The report was accompanied by maps and views and portraits, and as at the time of my announcing its discovery to you I had received through M. Ruelens an obliging promise from the Chevalier d'Antas, the Portuguese Minister in Brussels, that an extract should be sent me of that portion with which I was immediately concerned, I begged that the printing of my paper should be postponed until I should possess the opportunity of incorporating into it the translation of the said extract. My reason for appearing before you without waiting till I had examined the Report with my own eyes was, that, while I had no reason to entertain the shadow of a doubt as to the corroborative nature of its contents, I had a still more important announcement to make to you respecting a yet earlier discovery of Australia in the first half of the sixteenth century. Since then I have received the promised extract, and I am sorry to have to report to you that a more unsatisfactory document has never fallen under my notice. But, in order that you may rightly estimate both it and the case to which it refers, it will be necessary that I repeat to you the leading facts and circumstances of the whole story. Up to 1661, the earliest visit to the coasts of Australia known in history in connection with the name of any ship or captain, was that made by the Dutch yacht the "Duyphen," or "Dove," about the month of March, 1606. This vessel had been despatched from Bantam on

the 18th of November, 1605, to explore the islands of New Guinea. Her course from New Guinea was southward along the islands on the west side of Torres Strait to that part of Terra Australis a little to the west and south of Cape York, but all these lands were thought to be connected and to form the west coast of New Guinea. The Commander of the "Duyphen," of whose name we are ignorant, was of course unconscious of the importance of his discovery. Indeed, of the discoveries made subsequently by the Dutch on the coasts of Australia, our ancestors of a hundred years ago, and even the Dutch themselves, knew but little. That which was known was preserved in the "Relations de divers Voyages curieux," of Melchisedeck Thevenot (Paris, 1663-72, fol.); in the "Noord en Oost Tartarye," of Nicolas Witsen (Amst. 1692-1705, fol.); in Valentyn's "Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien" (Amst. 1724-26, fol.); and in the "Inleidning tot de algemeen Geographie" of Nicolas Struyk (Amst. 1740, 4to.). We have, however, since gained a variety of information, through a document which fell into the possession of Sir Joseph Banks, and was published by Alexander Dalrymple (at that time hydrographer to the Admiralty and the East India Company) in his collection concerning Papua. This curious and interesting document is a copy of the instructions to Commodore Abel Jansz Tasman for his second voyage of discovery. That distinguished commander had already, in 1642, discovered not only the island now named after him, Tasmania, but New Zealand also; and, passing round the east side of Australia, but without seeing it, sailed on his return voyage along the northern shores of New Guinea. In January, 1644, he was despatched on his second voyage, and his instructions, signed by the Governor-General Antonio Van Diemen and the members of the Council, are prefaced by a recital, in chronological order, of the previous discoveries of the Dutch. From this recital, combined with a passage from Saris, given in Purchas, vol. i. p. 385, we derive the above information respecting the voyage of the Duyphen, the date of which constituted it the first authenticated discovery of Australia with which a vessel's name could be connected. In 1861, however, I ventured to dispute this priority, and I think I cannot do justice to you and to myself better than by reciting the grounds on which I did so in the very words with which I then addressed you. They are as follows: "Within the last few days I have discovered a MS. Mappemonde in the British Museum, in which on the north-west corner of a country, which I shall presently show beyond all question to be Australia, occurs the following legend: Nuca antara foi descuberta o anno 1601 por mano (*sic*) el godinho de Evedia (*sic*) por mandado de (*sic*) Vico Rey Aives (*sic*) de Saldaha," (*sic*) which I scarcely need translate, Nuca

Antara was discovered in the year 1601, by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, by command of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha.

“The misfortune is that this map is only a copy, but I think I shall be able to answer from internal evidence any doubt that might be thrown upon the authenticity of the information which it contains. The original was made about 1620, after the discovery of Eendraght’s Land, on the west coast of Australia, by the Dutch, in 1616, but before the discovery of the south coast by Peter Nuyts in 1627. So far from its author suspecting the existence of a south coast, he continues the old error which had obtained throughout the sixteenth century, of representing the Terra Australis as one vast continent, of which the parts that had been really discovered were made to protrude to the north as far as the parallel in which these discoveries respectively lay. Thus, in this map, we have Australia, as already described, on the right side of the map, and the Island of Santa Cruz, in the New Hebrides, there called Nova Jerusalem, discovered by Quiros, on the left side, but both connected and forming part of the one great Southern Continent. Now, it may be objected that, this map being only a copy made at the beginning of the present or close of the last century, the statement which forms the subject of the present paper may have been fraudulently inserted. But to give such a suggestion weight, a motive must be shown, the most reasonable one being that of assigning the honour of the first authenticated discovery to Portugal instead of to Holland. For this purpose we must suppose the falsifier to have been a Portuguese. To this I reply, that, while all the writing of the map is in Portuguese, the copy was made by a person who was not only not a Portuguese himself, but was ignorant of the Portuguese language. For example, the very legend in question, short as it is, contains no less than five blunders, all showing ignorance of the language: thus, the words ‘por Manoel’ are written ‘por mano el’; ‘Eredia’ is written ‘Evedia’; ‘do’ is written ‘de’; ‘Ayres’ is written ‘Aives’; ‘Saldanha’ is written ‘Saldaha,’ without the circumflex to imply an abbreviation. But further, if we attribute to such supposed falsification the ulterior object of claiming for the Portuguese the honour of a prior discovery, whence comes it that that object has never been carried out? It is not till now that the fact is made known, and those most interested in the ancient glory of the Portuguese nation are ignorant of the discovery which this map declares to have been made. That it never became matter of history, may be explained by the comparatively little importance which would at the time be attached to such a discovery, and also by the fact that the Portuguese, being then no longer in the fulness of their prosperity, were not keeping

the subject before their attention by repeated expeditions to that country, as the Dutch shortly after really began to do.

“Again, the speculation might be hazarded that, as this map is a copy, the date of the discovery may have been carelessly transcribed; as, for example, 1601 may easily have been written in the original 1610, and erroneously copied. Fortunately, the correctness of the date can be proved beyond dispute. It is distinctly stated that the voyage was made by order of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha, the period of whose viceroyalty extended only from 1600 to 1604, thus precluding the possibility of the error suggested, and terminating before the period of the earliest of the Dutch discoveries. But yet, again, it may be objected that a country so vaguely and incorrectly laid down may not have been Australia. The answer is equally as indisputable as that which fixes the date. Immediately below the legend in question is another to the following effect: ‘Terra descuberta pelos Holandeses a que chamarao Enduacht (*sic*) ou Cõcordia’ (land discovered by the Dutch, which they called Endracht or Concord). Eendraghtsland, as we all know, was the name given to a large tract on the western coast of Australia, discovered by the Dutch ship the Eendragt in 1616.

“Moreover, if the legend in question were not a genuine copy from a genuine ancient map, how came the modern falsifier to be acquainted with the name of a real cosmographer who lived at Goa, at a period which tallies with the state of geographical discovery represented on the map, but none of whose manuscript productions had been put into print at the time when the supposed fictitious map was made or the legend fictitiously inserted?

“I think these arguments are conclusive in establishing the legitimacy of the modern copy from the ancient map. As regards the discoverer, Manoel Godinho de Eredia (or rather Heredia, as written by Barbosa Machado and by Figaniere), I find the following work by him:—‘*Historia do Martyrio de Luiz Monteiro Coutinho que padeceo por ordem do Rey Achem Raiamancor no anno de 1588, e dedicada ao illustrissimo D. Aleixo de Menezes, Arcebispo de Braga;*’ which dedication was dated Goa, 11th of November, 1615, fol. MS. with various illustrations.

“Barbosa Machado calls him a distinguished mathematician; and Figaniere, a cosmographer resident at Goa. It follows as a most likely consequence that the original map was made by himself. The copy came from Madrid, and was purchased by the British Museum, in 1848, from the Señor de Michelena y Roxas. It will be matter of interest to discover at some future day the existence of the original map, but whether that be in the library at Madrid, or elsewhere, must be a subject for future inquiry.

“In a scarce pamphlet, entitled ‘*Informação da Aurea Chersoneso, ou Peninsula e das Ilhas Auríferas, Carbunculas e Aromaticas, ordenada por Manoel Godinho de Eredia, Cosmographo,*’ translated from an ancient MS. and edited by Antonio Lourenço Caminha, in a reprint of the ‘*Ordenações da India, do Senhor Rei D. Manoel,*’ Lisbon, Royal Press, 1807, 8vo., occurs a passage, which may be translated as follows :—‘Island of Gold. While the fishermen of Lamakera, in the Island of Solor, were engaged in their fishing, there arose so great a tempest that they were utterly unable to return to the shore, and thus they yielded to the force of the storm, which was such that in five days it took them to the Island of Gold, which lies in the sea on the opposite coast, outside of Timor, which properly is called the Southern Coast. When the fishermen reached the Land of Gold, not having eaten during those days of the tempest, they set about seeking for provisions. Such happy and successful good fortune had they, that, while they were searching the country for yams and batatas, they lighted on so much gold, that they loaded their boat so that they could carry no more. After taking in water and the necessary supplies for returning to their native country, they experienced another storm, which took them to the Island of Great Ende; there they landed all their gold, which excited great jealousy amongst the Endes. These same Endes, therefore, proposed, like the Lamacheres fishermen, to repeat the voyage, and when they were all ready to start, both the Endes and Lamacheres, there came upon them so great a trepidation that they did not dare, on account of their ignorance, to cross that Sea of Gold.

“‘Indeed it seems to be a providential act of Almighty God that Manoel Godinho de Eredia, the cosmographer, has received commission from the Lord Count-Admiral, the Viceroy of India within and beyond the Ganges, that the said Eredia may be a means of adding new patrimonies to the Crown of Portugal, and of enriching the said Lord Count and the Portuguese nation. And therefore all, and especially the said Lord, ought to recognise with gratitude this signal service, which, if successful, will deserve to be regarded as one of the most happy and fortunate events in the world for the glory of Portugal. In any case, therefore, the discoverer ought, for many reasons, to be well provided for the gold enterprize: First, on account of the first possession of the gold by the crown of Portugal; Secondly, for the facility of discovering the gold; Thirdly, because of the gold mines being the greatest in the world; Fourthly, because the discoverer is a learned cosmographer; Fifthly, that he may at the same time verify the descriptions of the Southern Islands; Sixthly, on account of the new Christianity; Seventhly, because the discoverer is a skilful captain who proposes to render very

great services to the King of Portugal, and to the most happy Dom Francisco de Gama, Count of Vidigueira, Admiral and Viceroy of the Indies within and beyond the Ganges, and possessor of the gold, carbuncle, and spices of the Eastern Sea belonging to Portugal.'

"Short of an actual narrative of the voyage in which the discovery, which is the main subject of this paper, was made, we could scarcely ask for fuller confirmation of the truth of that discovery than that which is supplied by the above extract. Manoel Godinho de Eredia is there described as a learned cosmographer and skilful captain, who had received a special commission to make explorations for gold mines, and at the same time to verify the descriptions of the Southern Islands. The Island of Gold itself is described "as on the opposite coast outside of Timor, which properly is called the Southern Coast." It is highly probable from this description that it is the very Nuca Antara of our MS. map, which does lie on the southern coast opposite to Timor. It is still further most remarkable that, by the mere force of facts, the period of the commission here given to Eredia is brought into proximity with the date of his asserted discovery of Australia. The Viceroy Francisco de Gama, who gave that commission, was the immediate predecessor of Ayres de Saldanha. His Viceroyalty extended only from 1597 to 1600, and the asserted discovery was made in 1601, though we know not in what month. A more happy confirmation of a discovery, unrecorded except in a probably unique map, could scarcely have been hoped for."

It was in these words that in 1861 I submitted to the Society the facts which I had discovered and the reflections which they presented to my mind. They received the expressed approbation of the meeting at the time; they commended themselves to the judgment of the Council, who ordered them to be printed in the *Archæologia*; they were accepted by geographers at home and abroad: in short, they passed into history, and were repeated abundantly in works where information of the kind would be expected. At length the wished-for narrative is discovered and presents itself in the most emphatic form that such a narrative could assume, viz., in the autograph report of the supposed discoverer himself to his sovereign, King Philip III. To it we look for the *ne plus ultra* of confirmation of that which the above-recited facts and circumstances had so plausibly impressed upon the minds of all of us. To say of the testimony that it bears that it is unsatisfactory merely, would be to pay it a very high compliment. It is as when one cracks a fair-looking filbert, and finds one's mouth unexpectedly filled with dust in lieu of the ripe kernel. But I will proceed to read to you the trans-

lation of the words of Eredia's report, merely premising that the reputed country in the south about which he treats has received from him the name of "India meridional," a designation which I will retain, in preference to Southern India, for the sake of avoiding confusion with the country to which the latter name more properly belongs. I shall presently explain to you how this country received its existence on maps and became a subject of ambitious thought to Manoel Godinho de Eredia, and finally became identified with the real Australia, of which I now find that Eredia had no knowledge whatever.

"The India meridional," says Eredia, "is that continent which extends from the Promontory of Beach, the province of gold, in 16 degrees of south latitude, to the tropic of Capricorn and antarctic circle, with many large provinces, such as Maletur, Locach, and others, as yet unknown, in that sea, in which lies the island called Java Minor, so celebrated by the ancients and so unknown by the moderns, with other adjacent islands, such as Petan, Necuran, Agania; and nearly all these produce a great quantity of gold, cloves, mace, nutmegs, sandal-wood, and spices, not known or seen in Europe, as is testified by Ptolemy, and Vartomannus, in their writings, and by Marco Polo from eye witness, for he lived a long time in Java Minor." [Here follows a learned dissertation on Marco Polo and Java Minor, with which I need not trouble you until he approaches the part which concerns our subject.] "The annals of Java Major," he says, "make mention of the India meridional, and of its commerce, and of the ancient navigation from Java Major to Java Minor, where was the greatest emporium in the world for gold and spices. This commerce was subsequently stopped by wars for the space of 331 years until the year 1600, when by chance a boat from Luça Antara, in the India meridional, driven by weather and currents arrived in the harbour of Balambuan in Java Major, where the king of the province, who was present at the time with some Portuguese, gave them a good reception and entertainment. These strangers of Luça Antara, although in form and features like the Javanese of Bantam, differed from them in language, and showed themselves to be Javanese of another race. This novelty caused so much pleasure to the Javanese and satraps of Balambuan, and especially to Chiaymasiuro, King of Damuth, that the latter, being a prince, resolved for curiosity's sake to venture on the discovery of Luça Antara. Embarking with some companions in a calabuz or rowing-boat provided with necessaries, he left the port of Balambuan for the south, and after twelve days' voyage arrived at the said harbour of Luça Antara, a peninsula or island of 600 leagues in circumference, where he was well and hospitably received by the

Zabandar of the country; and while Chiaymasiuro was enjoying the freshness of the country, he took note of its wealth, for he observed in it much gold, cloves, mace, nutmegs, sandal-wood, both white and coloured, with other spices and aromatics, of which he took samples. With the south monsoon he returned safely to his country and the harbour of Balambuan, where he was received by the king in presence of the Portuguese, and particularly of Pedro de Carvalhães, overseer of Malacca, who will be witness to his arrival and to his voyage from Luça Antara to Balambuan in the year 1601. According to the roteiro or log of Chiaymasiuro's voyage, Luça Antara must be the general name of that peninsula, in which are the harbours of the kingdoms of Beach and Maletur, because between the sixteen degrees of latitude of Beach and the nine degrees of Balambuan is a space of eight degrees, which amounts to the 140 Spanish leagues of Chiaymasiuro's twelve days' voyage from Balambuan to Luca Antara. This shows that Luça Antara cannot be the Java Minor of Marco Polo, because it is in a higher latitude of the Tropic of Capricorn, viz., in $23^{\circ} 30'$. And for this enterprise was Manoel Godinho de Eredia at the same time despatched in the said year of 1601, and provided with the habit of the order of Christ and the title of Adelantado of the India meridional, to pass to the southward in order to carry out the southern discoveries, and to take possession of those lands for the crown of Portugal. But this did not take place, because being in Malacca and ready to make the voyage of the India meridional, there supervened the wars of that fortress with the Malays and Dutch, which prevented the discoveries, as the people were wanted for the defence of Malacca, the governor of which was Andrea Furtado de Mendocça."

This is Eredia's report, and it is followed by a statement to the same effect written by Chiaymasiuro, King of Damuth, to the King of Pam, but embodying the following additional facts. The King of the country presented Chiaymasiuro with handfuls of gold coin, such as that of Venice. The natives wore their hair long, down to the shoulders, and had the head bound with a fillet of wrought gold. They wore kreeses adorned with precious stones, and with curved blades, like the kreeses of Bali. Their common pastime was cock-fighting. This letter of Chiaymasiuro's is followed by a like statement, agreeing in all particulars with the two preceding, indited by the Portuguese Pedro de Carvalhães, who declares that he received it from the lips of Chiaymasiuro and his companions, whom he met in Surabaya. This document contains one statement in addition to the foregoing, viz.: that Luça Antara contained many populous cities and towns. At the close of the document, Carvalhães swears on the holy gospels to the truth of his

statement, and signs it with his name. I shall have to speak of other matters treated of in Eredia's MS. presently. Accompanying the extract which I received from Brussels are two maps, also by Eredia, the one of Luça Antara and its surroundings, the other a map of the world, in which Luça Antara is placed on the north-west of that part of the great southern land, which, if it represented the truth, could only tally with what we now know to be Australia. Now we need not be very profound geographers to see that the Luça Antara of Eredia, thus described, will in no way agree with what we know to be Australia, and I should have been compelled to acknowledge the perplexity into which the narrative had thrown me, had not my memory recalled certain events which have shed a flood of light upon the whole subject.

I recollect that one evening, some five or six years ago, I asked my friend, the late Mr. John Crawfurd, a great authority on the Malay language, whether he could in any way help me to the meaning of the local designation, Nuça Antara, when he told me that Nuça, in Javanese, meant an island, and Captain Richard Burton, who was standing by, said that "Antara" was Sanscrit for "between" or "inner," and was parent of the Latin word "inter." At a later period I questioned my friend Colonel Yule, to whose vast knowledge it is difficult to make a fruitless appeal (witness his literary illustrations to that noble book, an honour to this country, his recent edition of *Marco Polo*), as to what locality he thought Nuça Antara (the island between, or the inner island) could signify. He immediately told me that he believed he had met with the name elsewhere, and before long he came to me with Raffles' "*History of Java*" in his hand, and on page 92 of vol. ii. showed me that it was the ancient designation of the island of Madura, which, as you will recollect, is off the northern part of the east end of Java, being separated from that island by a strait, which, at its narrowest point, is not more than a mile broad, sufficiently near, in fact, to form, with the opposite coast, the important harbour of Surabaya. On learning this I need scarcely say that I reverted with anxiety to the map on which I had originally found this designation applied to the north part of Australia in connection with Eredia's asserted discovery. To my great satisfaction I found Madura inserted, in all its independent integrity, in its proper place, leaving the like integrity to the Australian Nuça Antara, and my mind was tranquilised with the supposition that the latter designation, being a generic one, might easily be applied to different localities. But since receiving from Brussels this astounding and irreconcilable report of Eredia's, I was led to consult Crawfurd's "*Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language*," and under the word *Nusa* I found the following definition " (Javanese)

an island. Like 'pulo,' it is often prefixed to the names of islets in several parts of the archipelago ;" and on looking further into the same author's " History of the Indian Archipelago " (T. 2, p. 128), I find that "Nusa" is in Sunda the ordinary, and in Java the ceremonial, word for island, while, to the eastward and northward, not Nusa but Pulo, and other equivalents, are used for that word.

Being thus led back by a combination of testimony to the immediate proximity of Java, I revert to the description of Luça Antara given by the native prince, Chiaymasiuro, and by P. Carvalhães, and I find that it tallies with Madura to a nicety.

The men of Luça Antara, who were driven by stress of weather into the port of Balambuan, are described as in figure, face, and complexion, like the Javanese of Bantam, but differing somewhat in their language, "insomuch as they showed themselves to be Javanese of another species or race." Crawford, in his " History of the Indian Archipelago " (T. 2, p. 69), says that the languages of the two islands are scarcely more like than any other two languages of the western portion of the Archipelago. The long hair down to the shoulders, the fillet of cloth of gold round the head, the kreese adorned with precious stones, and with the blade curved, the cock-fighting, the gold, spices, and sandal-wood, all bear their abundant testimony to the fitness of the application of the description to the island of Madura. The island itself was described as 600 leagues in circuit, and containing well peopled cities and towns, which is all in accordance with the real description of Madura. Moreover as it is difficult, with our present geographical knowledge, to conceive the possibility of our finding any other island which can present so many elements of identification as I have here adduced in reference to Madura, to wit, the name of the island, its appearance and its products, the form, features, complexion, dress, ornaments, language, habits and occupations of the inhabitants, I hope that I shall have your suffrages in coming to the conclusion that the Luça Antara of Eredia's report is effectively and indubitably Madura. This preliminary *certainty* is requisite, because I have now to lead you from that which is certain to that which is discrepant. You will perceive, *in limine*, that there are discrepancies to be traced somewhere, inasmuch as it is impossible to apply the description of Luça Antara, afforded us by Eredia, to the country to which he has applied it, viz., Australia, but I am at the same time anxious that a clear distinction should be drawn between that which can be traced to certainty in the report and that which is manifestly either false or inaccurate. You will at once see my reason. So soon as I have established a certainty, I possess a fulcrum, a stand-point from which I can track discrepancies and not

impossibly misrepresentations : but we shall see. The first glaring discrepancy is this, that the Javanese prince reports himself to have made a voyage of twelve days to the *south* from Balambuan to reach an island whose name and description in every particular belong to an island lying *north* of Balambuan. The distance from Balambuan to the coast, assumed to be reached by the southward course, namely, Australia, would be about six hundred miles ; that by the northern course to Madura would be barely ninety. The time occupied in accomplishing the voyage with oars, viz., twelve days, would apply much more reasonably to the former distance than the latter, a noteworthy circumstance to which I shall have to recall your attention presently. And, in the interval, be it remarked that both the southern course and the time occupied cannot be mis-stated in error, because, having been first written down in the letter of Chiaymasiuro to the King of Pam, they are both repeated by the former to Pero de Carvalhães, as recorded by the latter in his sworn certificate.

Now this personal narrative of Chiaymasiuro to Carvalhães took place in Surabaya, which is some 140 miles from Balambuan across country, and it took place on land, because Carvalhães tells us that “the affairs of Luça Antara became public talk and rumour in Surabaya.” Now, it is not perhaps easy to conceive that a chieftain of the district of Balambuan, whom we find making a visit to Surabaya, should be so utterly ignorant of Madura, its duplicate name, its people, and characteristics, as to speak of it as a matter of curiosity and surprise, when we take into account that Madura is only separated from the province of Surabaya by a narrow strait, and even if *he* had been previously ignorant on these points, it seems scarcely credible that the inhabitants of that province should not have had their suspicions awakened by the recital of their visitor, when at their very doors they had an island bearing the very name, and exhibiting all the peculiarities specified in that recital. The only circumstance which could divert such suspicion would be the declaration of Chiaymasiuro that he had reached Luça Antara after a voyage of twelve days southwards from Balambuan. This circumstance, however, would be only one proof more that Chiaymasiuro deliberately maintained that declaration, and in so doing maintained a deliberate falsehood. In any case, we have a manifest falsehood before us, and it remains to see whether we may be able to trace it to its author. The question lies between Chiaymasiuro, on the one side, and the two Portuguese officials, Eredia and Carvalhães, on the other. It will be remembered that Chiaymasiuro’s statement is represented as not only made *vivá voce* to Carvalhães, but as forming the subject of a letter from himself, as king of Damuth, to the

king of Pam. My first aim will be to test whether this letter does not present internal evidence of being itself a forgery. Great as are the facilities for such a purpose at my command, all my research has failed to find this name of Damuth on either old or modern maps of Java. Pam, judging from a tracing that Mr. Ruelens has kindly sent me, from a map by Eredia, would seem to be Pahang, in Malacca. Now, supposing that the kingdom of Damuth is genuine, and that Chiaymasiuro himself is not altogether a myth, I will ask what earthly object could a Javanese prince have in gratuitously writing to a friend in Malacca a lying letter of the sort, a letter which, if the Malay prince were at all acquainted with Java, as from the fact of the correspondence he would be likely to be, would read uncommonly like a hoax. It would be as if a man in Plymouth were to write to a friend in Scotland, that he had discovered some 600 miles away in the Atlantic, we will say in a southerly direction, a verdant island named Hibernia, the natives of which spoke English, but with a remarkable brogue, that their dress was for the most part like the English, although the peasantry had a predilection for blue swallow-tail coats with brass buttons, knee breeches, and worsted stockings; that they were a light-hearted, witty race, ever ready with an answer, and, if that proved insufficient, equally ready to enforce their arguments with a bludgeon, which they called a shillelagh. Imagine such a letter detailing the prominent peculiarities of the country, as well as of the people, of the sister island, yet, without one word of comment on the singular coincidence, both in name and characteristics, between the newly-found island and the Ireland whose specialities we all know so well. Let us even suppose this King of Pam, in Malacca, to be less conversant with the characteristics of Madura than a Scottish chieftain with those of Ireland, yet such could not be the case with Chiaymasiuro himself, who wrote the letter, since we find him recounting his story in the City of Surabaya, the east side of the harbour of which was formed by the west coast of Madura. Do not the purposelessness and transparent delusiveness of such a letter suggest to us the high probability of its being an entirely spurious production, and that we must look elsewhere than to Java for the author, for the motive, and for the original incentives and suggestions for the fabrication of such a document? In doing this there will be but little difficulty. The materials are abundant. You have seen that the story contained in Chiaymasiuro's letter is certified by Pero de Carvalhães, who declares that Chiaymasiuro related it to him, at Surabaya, with his own lips, and then swears on the Holy Gospels that his declaration is true, and signs the certificate at Malacca, under date of October 4th, 1601. Now when I tell you that I am cognizant of a printer's blunder in the name of a place men-

tioned by Marco Polo, which Eredia, unconscious of the mistake, unwarily adopted on Marco Polo's authority; that he and Pero de Carvalhães between them invented a voyage to the said place, of which they supplied the circumstantial details from fancy; the said place being marvellously rich in gold, Eredia declared that the said name (the offspring of the printer's blunder) meant gold in the language of the country, and that Pero de Carvalhães, at the request of Eredia, swore to the truth of all this on the Holy Gospels, at the same time and place as he made the former attestation, perhaps we shall not find it very difficult to decide at whose door we are to lay the origination of the falsehood respecting Luça Antara. Eredia's report, and his maps, distinctly show that Marco Polo and the Low Country maps of the previous thirty years, which, as regards this part of the world, were based upon Marco Polo, formed his stock-in-trade. They were the basis of his hopes and his pretensions, and I will presently show you how they became the suggesters to him of the falsehoods which he perpetrated on paper. In the seventh chapter of the third book of Marco Polo, we read:—"When you leave Java and sail for 700 miles on a course between south and south-west, you arrive at two islands—a greater and a less. The one is called Sondur, and the other Condur. As there is nothing about them worth mentioning, let us go on five hundred miles beyond Sondur, and then we find another country which is called Locach. In this country the Brazil which we make use of grows in great plenty, and they also have gold in incredible quantity. They have elephants likewise and much game. In this kingdom, too, are gathered all the porcelain shells which are used for small change in all those regions." All the MSS. and texts of Marco Polo read, as above, "when you leave Java;" but Marsden has shown that the point of departure is really Champa, a name in old times applied by western Asiatics to a kingdom which embraced the whole coast between Tongking and Cambodia, including all that is now called Cochin China. Colonel Yule has shown that the country meant by Locach was Lo-Kok or the kingdom of Lo, which, previous to the middle of the fourteenth century, formed the lower part of what is now Siam. Sondur and Condur are the Pulo Condore Islands. The introduction of the word Java into the text instead of Champa was a mistake, the retention of which inevitably led geographers to place Locach in the southern ocean. But now mark what occurred. In the Basle edition of Marco Polo in 1532 the printer blunderingly altered the L into a B and the first c into an e, so that the word Locach became Boeach. This was afterwards shortened into Beach, and the blunder was repeated in books and on maps with so much confidence that we find it even

occurring on a semi-globe which adorns the monument of Sir Henry Savile in Merton College Chapel, Oxford. As, however, some editions of Marco Polo retained the word Locach and others Beach, both names came to be copied on to maps, and the point of departure being Java, the map makers, following the course indicated in Marco Polo, laid these countries down as forming part of the great southern land which was supposed to occupy the entire south part of the globe. This was the India Meridionalis of Eredia's dreams and ambition. You will have observed that Luça Antara was said to be also reached by Chiaymasiuro after a voyage of twelve days south from Java, and accordingly it is domiciled by Eredia on this same southern land with Lucach and Beach, a thought evidently suggested by Marco Polo's text. But you will also have noticed that in this Locach, mis-spelt Beach, there was gold in considerable quantity, and the result was that Beach was specially described on many of the maps of that time as "provincia aurifera," and Eredia at the commencement of his report, you will recollect, speaks of it as the province of gold. Let us now trace the effect which this produces on Eredia's geography. In the first place he lays down both Lucach and Beach, showing, in common with the other geographers, his ignorance of the misprint. To these he adds Luça Antara with an elaborate and complex outline, even with rocks and shoals minutely laid down, which I fear he never derived from the surveying skill of his friend Chiaymasiuro, but in the same manner as the Portuguese named the Cape Verde Islands from the promontory off which they lay, so also, off the coast of Beach, Eredia lays down an island to which he gives the names of Luça Veach. I need not tell you that on an Iberian tongue the B and V are interchangeable. A whole chapter is devoted to the description of how some natives of Ende were carried southwards by a typhoon, and came upon the island of Luça Veach, where they landed to take in water and provisions. The natives, in exchange for syvallas,* the fruit of wild palms, gave them gold in abundance, for the sand at the foot of the trees consisted of gold ore. The island was more than eight Spanish leagues in circumference, and the land, although mineral, was full of forests and woods and very productive in all sorts of esculents, in palms and cocoa-nuts and sugar cane, and there were an abundance of fresh streams of excellent water flowing from auriferous rocks, and from which they drew their supply. After taking on board a cargo of gold they set sail, but were again overtaken by a storm, and threw into the sea all the gold except what was necessary for ballast, but after the storm subsided they

* Soewallen, the Javanese name of the *Borassus flabelliformis* of Linnæus, the Palmyra palm.

reached the harbour of Sabbo, where they discharged their gold, the great quantity of which amazed all the Sabbos. The greed of such wealth made them propose a second voyage to Luça Veach, but it did not take place, on account of the ignorance of the Sabbos of the latitude and situation of the island. This is manifestly only another version of the story of the Lamacheres fishermen, which I have recited to you from my paper of 1861, the difference consisting in the introduction of a new set of actors into the farce. "The island," says Eredia, "is called Luça Veach, because among the natives of Ende, Sabbo, and Java, 'Luça' signifies 'an island' and 'Veach' of gold." The printer's devil in Basle, in 1532, little dreamed that he was inventing a Javanese word, nor does Crawfurd, in his "Malay Dictionary," corroborate that he did so. So far is it otherwise, that on page 152, vol. ii., of the same author's "History of the Malay Archipelago," there is a list of all the words representing "gold" throughout the Archipelago, but not one of them in the slightest degree approaches to either Beach or Veach. Nevertheless the next chapter in Eredia's report consists of a certificate from our friend Pero de Carvalhães, captain of the fortress of Ende, in which he swears on the Holy Gospels that it is all true, and affixes his signature thereto under date of Malacca, 4th of October, 1601, the same date as his other certificate.

In one of the chapters of Eredia's report, entitled "Of Discovery by Chance," he tells us that a vessel from Malacca was carried to the south by the Bali currents between Java and Bima, and discovered the islands of Luça Tambini, peopled only by women, like Amazons, who with bows and arrows prevented any one from landing. "These women," he says, "must have their husbands from another separate island. The same boat further south discovered another island of eight days' voyage in circumference, in which they saw in some of the harbours sumptuous edifices of stone and brick belonging to great cities and fortresses now deserted, which present proofs that in the India meridional they possess the pomp of civilization and the liberal and mechanical sciences." *Credat Judæus!* Every one has heard of the fable of the Male and Female Islands. It has existed from time immemorial, and was repeated by Marco Polo; but I doubt if the noble Venetian would have sworn on the Holy Gospels, as of his own knowledge in the character of a local and official authority, that a vessel from Malacca went there. This, however, Pedro de Carvalhães did in his last-mentioned certification; and I am glad that he tells us that after having discovered the island of women, Luça Tambini, they then came in sight of Luça Veach. The one statement deserved to be made in the same breath with the other. I think I need not weary either you

or myself with any further details from the utterances of these vile accomplices. Suffice it that there are plenty more falsehoods in them built up on the basis of the Low Country maps, the conjectural or imaginary portions of which are dressed up by Eredia as solid realities, confirmed by all the circumstance of detail. I think, after this, I may ask you with confidence to decide as to the authorship of the falsehood respecting Luça Antara. That Eredia received a commission from the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha to make discoveries of supposed islands in the south is pretty certain. The Alvará, or patent, signed 5th of April, 1601, accompanies the report. It constitutes him Governor-in-chief of any such islands falling within the limits of the Crown of Portugal, promises him the Order of Christ, and engages that, in the event of his death being ascertained, provision should be made for the honourable marriage of his daughter, to whom such recompense and honours would be accorded as the services of her father might merit. He was to receive also the twentieth part of the profit of his discoveries, or what his Majesty was in the habit of giving to discoverers of mines in his own kingdoms. It is very clear that he occupied a responsible position, and that much might be expected from him. Carvalhães in both his certificates uses the words "The discoverer Manoel Godinho de Eredia asked me for this information for the good of his voyage and for the accomplishment of the service of the King." It was evident that he was to be a discoverer on paper, if not a discoverer at sea. In the map of the world which accompanies his report, and which is itself a reduction from a map by Ortelius, he writes on the southern land "India meridional descoberta anno 1601." The map-maker who followed him, and from whose handiwork was made the copy which I brought forward in 1861, had a constructive mind. On a country which bore a legend which proved it to be Australia, he with unflinching positiveness grouped into one distinct declaration the reputed discovery, the date, the name of Eredia, and the name of the Viceroy. "Nuça Antara was discovered in 1601 by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, by order of the Viceroy, Ayres de Saldanha." I confess I am not ashamed that I believed him. Moreover, I can well conceive that this later map-maker laid down this statement with perfect integrity and with absolute confidence in its truth. When he made his map the Dutch had already in 1616 discovered that large tract of land on the west coast of Australia which they named Eendrachtsland, from the ship's name, Eendracht, or Concord. Eredia had sent home to Portugal a map of the world with the inscription on his India Meridional, "descoberta anno 1601." How could we expect any Portuguese to question the assertion, put forth as it was by the man who was officially appointed to occupy himself with such discoveries, who bore

the title of "Adelantado de la India Meridional," and was even named "Descobridor" in anticipation of what he might find? When I remind you that until this evening the deception has never yet been exposed, and when we reflect on the marvellous accidental approximation of Eredia's "India Meridional" to the real position of Australia, we can look for no other result than that the reputed Portuguese discovery and the genuine Dutch discovery should ratify, and as it were clench, the reality of each other, and produce in the later map-maker's mind the firmest conviction of the perfect truth of that legend which, from his map, I introduced to your notice in 1861.

For what reason Eredia should have selected Madura for transplantation to his "India Meridional" I cannot guess, nor do I care to inquire. If I allowed myself to enter into such doubtful intricacies, I should suspect that the change of N into L in Luça Antara, and of B into V in Veach, were but small attempts to throw an additional veil over the deceptions he was practising on King Philip III.; for although the liquids are easily interchangeable, and in the Peninsula B and V are often used indifferently, yet it is obvious that in the initials of proper names such changes are less admissible than elsewhere. But it is neither a safe nor a pleasant task to speculate on the motives and movements of a dishonest mind; it is quite sufficient to expose the facts which prove its dishonesty. Meanwhile I congratulate myself that whereas it was I who introduced to the world that reputed discovery, the falsity of which could only be detected by the examination of a MS. which has hitherto lain *perdu*, it is with my own hands that, now that I have seen that document, I have been able to shake the bran out of this puppet of a discoverer. It is also some satisfaction that when I read to you, in March last, the paper to which these lines form a supplement, I was able to adduce some important facts in connection with a discovery of Australia so much earlier than the reputed one of which I have now been writing, as to render the non-reality of the latter comparatively insignificant.